

commission. The time has come that we need to find out the discrepancies in the pricing system for our meat, today. Thank you and I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. I thank my colleague from Minnesota. There will be no more votes this evening.

Mr. GRAMS. Madam President, I request that I be allowed to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The remarks of Mr. GRAMS pertaining to the introduction of S. 1441 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

#### RONALD REAGAN BUILDING AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTER

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, this has been cleared on each side. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Environment and Public Works be immediately discharged from further consideration of H.R. 2481, and that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2481) to designate the Federal Triangle Project under construction at 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, in the District of Columbia, as the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be deemed read a third time, passed, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the bill be placed at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

So the bill (H.R. 2481) was deemed read the third time and passed.

Mrs. BOXER. I would like to have about 20 minutes in morning business.

Mr. DOLE. Could we do wrap-up first?

Mrs. BOXER. Absolutely.

Mr. SANTORUM. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SANTORUM. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SANTORUM. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MISSILE SALES TO TURKEY

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President, on Monday, December 18, my good friend from New York, Senator D'AMATO and I, sent a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, urging the Clinton Administration to reconsider its decision to sell 120 Army tactical missile systems [ATACMs] to the government of Turkey.

I was troubled to learn last night that the Clinton Administration intends to proceed with the sale. This transfer is ill-advised, to say the least. I strongly urge the Administration to reconsider its decision or at the very least, place clear, indisputable restrictions on deployment and use of these weapons.

This transfer does not make sense. Generally, it is disturbing because the Turkish government has used U.S. and NATO military equipment repeatedly in the past to advance policy and military objectives that are clearly not in our best interests.

As all of us are well aware, the Turkish government in 1974 used NATO military equipment when it invaded the island of Cyprus. More than two decades later, Cyprus remains divided, with one side subjected to an occupation force of 35,000 Turkish troops. I have held a great interest in resolving the Cyprus dispute. This is a matter of strong, bipartisan interest. The Clinton Administration has stated that it intends to make a serious effort to reunite Cyprus. Frankly, I cannot see how the proposed missile sale helps our nation achieve this goal. I believe the opposite is true, and that is very unfortunate.

I also am concerned about American made military equipment being used to prolong the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It has been documented that Turkey has transferred U.S. and NATO military hardware to the Azeris, who have made use of this equipment against civilian populations in the besieged Nagorno-Karabagh region. It is my understanding that it is contrary to U.S. policy for a buyer of U.S.-made military equipment to transfer such equipment to a third party. What assurances do we have from Turkey that it intends to abide by this policy?

Finally, I am concerned that this missile sale could serve to prolong continued violence between the Turkish Army and the Kurds. For more than a decade the Turkish government has waged a brutal war against the Kurdish people. Human rights watch [HRW] estimated that the conflict has resulted in the death of 19,000 Kurds, including 2,000 civilians, and the destruction of 2,000 villages. More than 2 million Kurds have been forced from their homes.

HRW also reported that in 29 incidents from 1992 and 1995, the Turkish

Army used U.S.-supplied fighter-bombers and helicopters to attack civilian villages and other targets. Further, U.S. and NATO-supplied small arms and armored personnel carriers have been used in a counter-insurgency campaign against thousands of Kurdish villages.

Clearly, these instances stretching over a period of more than two decades are contrary to our nation's interests as well as our own moral sensibility. In the face of this evidence, the President now wishes to supply the Turkish Army with 120 ATACMs. What exactly are ATACMs? Basically, the U.S. Army handbook describes the ATACM as a conventional surface-to-surface ballistic missile launched from a M270 launcher. Each missile has a warhead that carries a combined payload of 950 small cluster bomblets, which can spray shrapnel over a large area.

The practical use of an ATACM does not leave much to the imagination. This kind of missile can be used to disable numerous human and material targets at once and very quickly. Kurdish villages and organized teams of Kurdish dissidents easily could be targets for ballistic missile attack. This would be a terrible tragedy.

The Administration has argued that these missiles are a necessary deterrent against two potential aggressors along Turkey's borders—Iran and Iraq. I believe these missiles are far from necessary. Consider the following: Turkey is an ally of the United States. It is a member of NATO. The Turkish military's Incirlik air base is a launching point for our enforcement of the no-fly zone over Northern Iraq. And Turkey will participate in the enforcement of the Dayton peace accord in Bosnia. I would think that the strategic importance of Turkey to the United States and Europe is enough to deter any foolish military action by either Iran or Iraq. If our nation can mobilize the world to expel Iraq from the tiny nation of Kuwait, imagine our response if Iraq or Iran even made a hostile gesture toward Turkey. Clearly, the Administration's "deterrent" argument to justify the missile sale is hollow at best.

Indeed, I can find no credible political, economic or strategic cause that is furthered by the sale of the ATACMs to Turkey.

Madam President, just last month, Congress took a strong stand against Turkish aggression in the region by voting to cap US economic support funds for Turkey. This is an important step. My friend from New York, Senator D'AMATO, and I are sponsors of legislation that would take even tougher action. It is my hope that we in Congress can all agree that there must be an added price for US economic and military assistance to our allies, particularly our NATO allies, and that price is morally responsible use of U.S. assistance. I do not see how the Administration's missile sale fits even that basic standard.

We have seen a number of different initiatives designed to bring peace to troubled regions, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and the Middle East. However, the Administration needs to demonstrate our nation's strong interest in bringing the violence in Kurdistan and Nagorno-Karabagh to an end. The sale of 120 ATACMS moves our nation in the wrong direction and could further fuel the war and destruction in both regions.

Though the Administration has announced it intends to pursue the sale, I make one last plea to urge it to reconsider its decision. If the Administration intends to complete the sale, I would urge at the very least that it impose a few basic conditions. In short, if these missiles are for national self-defense, the sale should be conditioned solely for that purpose. More to the point, the missiles should not be placed so as to pose a threat to the people of Greece and Cyprus. Further, the Turkish government should promise that none of the missiles be transferred to Azerbaijan. And finally, the missiles should not be used to prolong the violence in Kurdistan. The Clinton Administration at the very least should insist on these conditions at the very least. The Clinton Administration also should make clear that failure to abide by these conditions could undermine future economic and military assistance.

Again I believe this sale to be bad policy. It is a mistake. However, if the Administration intends to pursue this sale, it should at the very least make clear that this nation insists on this equipment being strictly limited to self-defense. If we are going to be forced swallow this very bitter pill, the Administration should try to make it less bitter.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letter to Secretary Christopher be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, DC, December 18, 1995.

Hon. WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are writing to express our strong opposition to the Clinton Administration's proposed sale of 120 army tactical surface-to-surface missiles (ATACMS) to Turkey.

As you well know, for more than a decade the Turkish government has waged a brutal war against the Kurdish people. According to recent data from Human Rights Watch (HRW), the conflict has resulted in 19,000 military and civilian dead, 2,000 villages destroyed and more than 2 million being forced from their homes.

What concerns us deeply is the use of American-made military equipment to commit these atrocities and to prolong the war against the Kurdish people. Specifically, it has been reported that in 29 incidents from 1992 and 1995, the Turkish Army has used U.S.-supplied fighter-bombers and helicopters to attack and fire against civilian villages and targets. Further, U.S. and

NATO-supplied small arms and armored personnel carriers have been used in a counter-insurgency campaign against thousands of Kurdish villages.

The Kurds are not the only ones to have been subjected to attack with U.S. or NATO equipment from Turkey. Indeed, the record of the last twenty years is disturbing. Most notably, the Turkish military used NATO military hardware when it invaded and occupied the now-divided island of Cyprus. Further, Turkey has transferred US and NATO weapons to Azerbaijan, where they have been used against civilian Armenians residing in Nagorno-Karabagh.

In the face of this history, the President now wishes to supply the Turkish Army with 120 ATACMS, each of which is capable of carrying a warhead payload of 950 small cluster bombs. With these weapons, the Turkish Army has the capability to launch a horrendous ballistic missile attack on the Kurdish people. The results would be equally disturbing if any of these missiles ended up in the hands of the Azeris, or were deployed within range of either Cyprus or Greece.

Mr. Secretary, the Clinton Administration has taken a great interest in achieving peace in troubled regions, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and the Middle East. However, the Administration needs to demonstrate our nation's strong interest in bringing the violence in Kurdistan and Nagorno-Karabagh to an end. By arming Turkey with 120 ATACMS, we would send the opposite message and further fuel destruction in both regions.

The time has come for the United States to take a stand for peace throughout the entire Middle East. For that reason, we urge the Clinton Administration to reconsider its proposed sale of tactical surface-to-surface missiles to Turkey.

Thank you for your attention to this important issue.

Sincerely,

LARRY PRESSLER.  
ALFONSE M. D'AMATO.

#### THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, almost 4 years ago I commenced these daily reports to the Senate to make a matter of record the exact Federal debt as of close of business the previous day.

In that report—February 27, 1992—the Federal debt stood at \$3,825,891,293,066.80, as of close of business the previous day. The point is, the Federal debt has increased by \$1,163,199,095,296.10 since February 26, 1992.

As of the close of business Tuesday, December 19, the Federal debt stood at exactly \$4,989,090,388,362.90. On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,938.67 as his or her share of the Federal debt.

#### THE RETIREMENT OF COL. FRANK K. HURD, JR.

Mr. THURMOND, Madam President, I rise today to recognize the retirement of Col. Frank K. Hurd, Jr., from the U.S. Army. Colonel Hurd has served his country for over 26 years. He was an outstanding soldier and a dedicated Chief of the Army Liaison Office to the U.S. Senate, a position he has held for the past 3 years.

Colonel Hurd was commissioned as a second lieutenant of Armor through

the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps upon graduation from Mercer University in his home State of Georgia. During his distinguished career, he served in a number of leadership assignments that took him to Korea; Bad Kissingen, Germany, where he commanded cavalry troops; Athens, Georgia, where he was an assistant professor of military science; and to Bamberg, Germany, where he commanded the 2d Squadron, 2d Armored Cavalry Regiment.

Colonel Hurd has succeeded admirably in his role of representing the Army's interests on Capitol Hill and acting as a liaison between the Department of the Army and the Senate. He has always been prompt, responsive, and sensitive to the needs of members and staff for up-to-date, complete, and accurate information.

As Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I am pleased to offer him my congratulations on a distinguished career, and I wish him and his family good health and happiness in the years ahead.

#### THE YORKTOWN AND MONROE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOLS CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM: UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATING CULTURAL DIVERSITY BY BRIDGING THE MILES

Mr. HEFLIN. Madam President, over 3 years ago, in September 1992, teacher Susan Ross of Yorktown High School in Yorktown Heights, NY, contacted my office to inform me of a wonderful new project which she had recently developed for her ninth grade students. She had just organized a cultural exchange program between her students and the students of Monroe County High School in Monroeville, AL. As part of the program, she wanted to get my recollections of what it was like growing up in Alabama and in the South.

Yorktown Heights is located about a half-hour's drive from New York City in a rural area surrounded by farming towns. Monroeville is the hometown of writer Harper Lee and was the model for the fictional town of Macomb in her Pulitzer Prize winning novel "To Kill a Mockingbird." The courthouse in Monroeville actually served as part of the set for the Academy Award-winning film version.

This classic novel, which Ms. Ross has taught her classes off and on for 26 years, proved to be the catalyst for her program. One year, while reviewing the books that she would use in her class for the upcoming school term, she realized, in her words: "I was teaching a book about a culture I knew nothing about, and I was possibly doing a disservice to it. To understand the issue from the character's point of view, you need to go to the source, so I did."

Going to the source meant first approaching her counterparts in Monroeville. First, she contacted Monroe County High School Principal Pat